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language. Children from homes where one parent is a non-Araucanian do not speak Araucanian. There were two such homes in Alepúe: in one, the mother was Chilean, in the other, the father. Nearly one-half of the children in an Alepúe school could read and write Araucanian, having learned to do so at home. None, however, could write the Araucanian alphabet in order. (For alphabet, see Félix José, 1916, vol. 1, p. 14; and 1910, pp. 5 and 6.) 191

In pre-Spanish days the Araucanians had neither a written language nor pictography; according to Félix José, the Jesuit Fathers compiled the first vocabularies (1916, vol. 1, p. 7). [212]

Both children and adults took occasion to teach me and my field assistant Araucanian. "Mapuche is easily learned, more easily than Spanish," said a little girl. "If two things are spoken of, use the word epu; if many, merely the word pu, like pu ruka. The syllable pu in any word anywhere means more than two. No, the plural is not formed by repeating the word like in mari mari and Bio Bio. If you can say kalül correctly, you will know how to pronounce all words that have lül as a syllable." Picking up an avellano nut the little girl continued: "This is the nut of the ŋefü. Now say that word: ŋefü." 193

In all areas informants pointed out dialectic differences between Araucanian as spoken by them and as spoken in other areas (cf. p. 7). Cooper, basing his information on Félix José, wrote regarding the Araucanian language that it is an independent linguistic family; that each region and tribal subdivision has its dialectic differences, but that these are "mostly relatively minor ones, consisting of phonetic shifts, different meanings for the same word, different words for the same meaning, slight differences in formation of plural of substantives, etc. The dialects are mutally intelligible, but in some cases only with considerable or very great difficulty." Cooper also notes that Araucanian has incorporated in it a considerable number of loan words from Quechua (1946, pp. 695-696). 197

ORATORY

Oratory is highly esteemed; so is the facility to speak well on all occasions and the ability to carry on a koyaqtun (p. 64). Formerly every boy was trained in all three; many are still so trained. "Boys must be trained to speak well; they are the ones that must do the talking for their families, not only in our meetings but in dealing with Chileans as well. One thing every boy must also be trained in is to carry on a koyaqtun." A boy today usually learns the formalized expressions used at the koyaqtun by listening in to elders. However, 537

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animals. I want to help you; but you must speak our language.' Since the boy grew up in the cacique's family, he spoke perfect Araucanian. Later he found out who his own parents were, but he never went back to his family." The informant then told of Araucanians who were taken captive by Argentines and reared by them: "They learned perfect Spanish. My husband's two sisters were kidnaped by Whites when very small, and taken to Buenos Aires where they still live. They, too, do not want to return here to their people."

Another method by which the Araucanians learned Spanish was told by a woman who had heard old men tell about it: "When the Argentines came here and took over our land not one of our people knew enough Spanish words to talk with them. So they taught our people to speak Spanish. The commander of the army made our people stand in a row. Then he ordered one person after the other, down the row, to repeat Spanish words and sentences after him." She indicated individuals standing in a row and pointing a finger at each one successively said: 'You, you, say Buenos Dias!' 'You, next one, say Buenos tardes.' 'You, next one, say Buenos noches, my commander!' Our people could not pronounce the words as he did, although they tried hard enough. So the commander made them repeat and repeat and repeat the words. And that is how our people learned Spanish. Our people did not mind too much having to learn the Spanish language, but they resented it when they were made to march before the officers and speak Spanish words. The women were obliged to wear their chamall (homewoven clothes) and silver ornaments and their ojotas (footwear). Our people have disliked the Whites ever since for this." She halted a moment and added, "But they say they came to civilize us. In due time Araucanian men were drafted into Argentine military service where they learned to speak Spanish well. Upon their return home they taught it to others, especially to their children."

Informants were not aware of differences in their language as spoken by women and as spoken by men—something a non-Araucanian who had lived among Araucanians for many years was certain existed—unless variations such as the following were meant: A man addresses his father as chau; his mother as fiulce; his brother and sister each as pifie; a woman does not use these words when addressing the same persons. A man speaks of his son as ʃot'om, and his daughter as fiawe; a woman speaks of both as pofieñ.

The Araucanians had no written language. Pictographs found in many places formerly occupied by Araucanians are not Araucanian, it appears. Saiko, who had studied the pictographs in many places,

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had found no Araucanian who would make even a guess as to their origin. None of my Araucanian informants could give any explanation as to their origin or meaning. One said, "Our people did not write. These must have been written by other people, not by Araucanians. Our people made pottery and wove. We painted designs on pottery, but they had no meaning." Quoting Saiko, a non-Araucanian: "In 1948, I dug approximately 18 inches below the surface in this cave [Vega Valle] and found rhea bones, remnants of woven material, and remains of a fireplace. I am inclined to believe that the place in which pictographs are found were lookout points. I believe that the pictographs were either the observer's message or his observations made for the benefit of someone who was to replace him. Maybe Indian traders from the pampa, or from the south, or from Peru or Bolivia painted them." (Cf. also Bruch, 1901; Vignati, 1935; and Pedersen, 1953-1954, on pictographs in Argentina.)

Among pictographs in Territory Neuquén are those on Estancia La Primavera and Estancia Mamuil Malal and in Vega Valle, Collúm Có, Quilaquina, Huechulafquen, Quillen, and Cerro Chenque; in Territory Chubut there are some on Estancia Nueva Lubecka.

We viewed those in Vega Valle (about 5 miles from San Martín de los Andes, approximately 180 feet above the highway that leads to Junin de los Andes; pls. 68, 69). All symbols are painted in red, some on the flat sides of protruding rocks exposed to sun and weather; others on angular surfaces of tumbled-down rocks; still others within a cave. Some symbols are arranged in horizontal lines; others in groups, helter-skelter. In order that they could be better photographed Saiko chalked several (pl. 69, *2*).

Pictographs seen by Saiko in other parts of Vega Valle and in Quilaquina nearby are also in red and are painted in caves and on exposed rock. In Melaquina they are red and in caves only; on Estancia La Primivera they are in caves but painted in red, blue, green, and white. The paint in all instances, Saiko observed, can be removed only with persistent scratching and then with difficulty. He believed the paint to have been a mixture of animal blood and soil. In no case had he found symbols incised in rock and then filled in with paint.

ORATORY

Oratory included not only facility in speaking publicly in an eloquent and effective manner, but also the ability to do so in the proper tone of voice—one similar to a chant. Before an orator gained recognition, he had also to prove his reliability as a messenger. A young

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

[177] South American Indians, who were deeply influenced by the Spaniards at a very early time. Like the Hopi, Zuni, Navajo, and others, whose reservations have retarded the impact of European culture, the Araucanians have remained in comparative cultural isolation. The society in 1884, however, was certainly not aboriginal in all respects, for the mobility, shifting alliances, and changing kinship affiliations during three centuries had surely left their mark. After 1884, warfare [161] ceased, population grew although new lands were not accessible, fragmented kinship units developed into localized, corporate patrilineages on the reservations, and the proximity of patrilineages to one another within the delimited territory of a reservation set a new context for marriage preferences, participation in ceremonies, and cooperation in economic activities. Earlier practices acquired new forms and functions. The chief ceased to have a military role, but his economic, political, and ceremonial leadership was extended to all people on his reservation, whether or not they were his kin. (Owing to the importance of this new religious morality, Faron plans a separate, full-length monograph on the subject.) On the reservations, marriage patterns were also altered, ceremonial participation was enlarged, and interpersonal relations acquired new dimensions. These are evolutionary changes that resulted essentially from the reservation situation.

Meanwhile, outside influences began to penetrate the society, and while social isolation may have retarded them, as on North American reservations, it could not stem them. Most important, there were new economic factors. The production of cash crops to meet the need [433] for money rather than production solely of subsistence crops has affected land use and land tenure in ways found throughout the world. [423] Among the Araucanians, cash cropping led to individual usufruct rights and often to assignment of land in severalty to individual men and women, rather than to lineages, and to land rentals and sharecropping. Such land tenure weakened the economic functions of the corporate patrilineage. The growing tendency of Chilean law to [648] utilize policemen and courts in dealing directly with individuals regarding crimes and torts is weakening chieftainship vis-à-vis the Chilean government. There is political representation in the local and national governments, and factionalism that accompanies it. There is [212] literacy, which opens the door for increased understanding of and participation in national affairs. Improved transportation is bringing the Indians into closer relationship with Chilean institutions and into

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Mapuche

every male has some notion of the issue of *división*. As Titiev has pointed out (1951:57n), the Mapuche tend to be suspicious of politicians, many of whom they regard as interested primarily in feathering their own nests. This holds for Mapuche politicians as well, but the feeling is not quite as strong in regard to their venality and opportunism. Nevertheless, politicians are often referred to as *hombres de negocios*, an expression which suggests that they are interested in their own personal gain and are ready to be bought out.

Reservation Mapuche seem to follow local leadership in aligning themselves with or in opposing the platforms of the Indian pressure groups. The Indian political societies in turn back candidates committed to their particular views. There is then a chain of political influence from local leadership, say a chief or another respected man on a reservation, through one of the Indian societies, to one of the national political parties having a favorable Indian "plank" in its platform.

At election time there is a considerable effort made to get out the vote on the reservation. Local politicians or their backers ride out to the country and hold political rallies. They harangue the Indians, make political promises, and ask for support. Although there is universal suffrage in Chile, few women vote. This is partly because there are fewer women able to pass the literacy test, partly because few women hold identification cards (issued to all adults by the Chilean government), but primarily because political activity is considered a male concern. As more young women receive elementary-school education on the reservations, this picture will undoubtedly change.

Outside pressure is put on the males, however, and a great effort is made to get them to the polls. The various candidates for office arrange for trucks to transport the voters from the reservations to the towns. On election day, which is a national holiday, there are always trucks on the roads and many carts which will take passengers. Incidentally, there is no ban on the sale of alcohol during the voting hours, with the result that the election-day crowds throng the towns and frequent the wine and beer dispensaries looking for excitement and entertainment.

Political propaganda is distributed in the towns and at the rallies in the country. Most of the handbills pass from one individual to another and are widely disseminated on the reservations, where they are explained to the illiterate. Although illiterates cannot vote, they